

ANTI SLAVERY REPORTER [SUPPLEMENT.]

THE SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Price Fourpence Stamped.]

JUNE 2, 1856.

[Price Threepence Unstamped.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE	SLAVERY.	PAGE
INTRODUCTORY.....	1	AMERICA.....	8
THE SLAVE TRADE.		BRAZIL.....	13
AFRICA. The Bight of Benin, the Sherbro, &c.	1	THE DANUBIAN PROVINCES.....	14
BRAZIL. Bahia, Pará, &c.....	1	EGYPT.....	14
CUBA. The Emancipados.....	2	FRANCE AND THE FRENCH COLONIES.....	14
Slave-Population—Immigration.....	3	HOLLAND.....	14
General Measures.....	3	PERU.....	16
PORTO RICO.....	4	PORTUGAL.....	16
PERSIA. Turkey, the Levant, &c.....	4	SPAIN.....	17
EGYPT.....	5	HOME PROCEEDINGS.....	19
MIXED-COMMISSION AND VICE-ADMIRALTY		CONCLUSION.....	21
COURTS.....	5	BALANCE SHEET.....	22
THE CRUISER SQUADRON.....	6	COMMITTEE and OFFICERS, &c.....	22
OBSERVATIONS.....	6	CONTRIBUTIONS.....	23

REPORT.

YOUR Committee entertain a hope that the present Report will satisfy the friends of the anti-slavery cause, that it is surely progressing, and will encourage them to persevere in their efforts. They have to reiterate the regret expressed by them in their last Report, that the Parliamentary Papers relative to the slave-trade are published so late in the Session, as to place it out of their power to give intelligence on this subject to so late a date as they would desire. Those for the year 1855 are not yet out. The present Report, therefore, includes such facts only as are contained in the Slave-trade Papers Classes A. and B. for 1854.

THE SLAVE-TRADE.

The coasts of the vast continent of Africa continue to be the principal sources whence slaves are derived.

THE BIGHT OF BENIN.—The slave-dealers in this locality appear to have been very active during the past year, and to have successfully evaded the cruisers, and baffled the efforts of Her Majesty's Agents to prevent the shipment of slaves. From Whydah, Agbwey, and Great Popoe, more than 2500 slaves are known to have been shipped in the most barefaced manner. It is stated that some of the coast-wise chiefs, tempted by the gold of the traders, do not consider it a breach of their treaty engagements if they do not allow the embarkation of slaves immediately opposite to their towns, and they therefore connive at its taking place a few miles away.

THE SHERBRO.—The Consul on this station, Mr. Aug. W. Hanson, is a descendant of the African race, of active, enterprising habits, and has much distinguished himself in the consular service. In the course of the year 1853 he captured several canoes that were conveying away slaves by the waters of the Sherbro from the Gallinas to the neighbourhood of the colony of Sierra Leone. In his report for the year 1854 he expresses it as his opinion that this canoe-trade in slaves is prosecuted with great activity, as some 60 canoes, each capable of carrying at least 40 slaves, had come into the Boom, the Jong, and the Kittaw rivers for slaves, of which number probably more than 20 had succeeded in getting away with their cargoes, and this, in the very centre of British influence on the coast, as if in mockery of the efforts of Her Majesty's Government for the suppression of the slave-trade by cruisers, whose vigilance the slavers successfully elude when once they reach the open sea.

BRAZIL.—Your Committee rejoice to be able to reiterate the announcement made in their last Report, that the slave-trade to Brazil appears to be at an end. The Consuls for the provinces of Bahia, Pará, Paraiba, Pernambuco, Rio Grande do Sul, Rio de Janeiro, and St. Catherine, report that no slaves were imported from Africa during the year 1854. In the province of Rio Grande do Sul, one contraband disembarkation of about 150 slaves was reported to have occurred, but Mr. Consul Vereker, after the most searching investigation, is of opinion that there is great doubt about the fact; so

much so, that he deems it unnecessary to dwell upon it in his report. Your Committee would add that they have private information fully corroborating the encouraging statement of the total cessation of the African slave-trade to the Brazilian ports, and every circumstance seems to indicate the absence of a desire to renew it, and the determination of the authorities to employ the most stringent measures to prevent its resumption. The coast-wise trade between the provinces, especially that to Bahia, is still carried on; but this is one of the natural consequences of the existence of slavery in the country, and some time must elapse before the inter-provincial traffic will be discontinued.

CUBA.—The correspondence between Her Majesty's Government and the Slave-trade Commissioners at Havana, for 1854, presented at the close of last Session, not only do not exhibit any diminution in the slave-trade to Cuba, but a considerable augmentation. On this subject Mr. G. C. Backhouse, Her Majesty's Commissary Judge, writing to the Earl of Clarendon on the 1st of January 1855, states that the number of negroes reported to have been landed in 1854, amounted to 8564, to which must be added one-third more, the average allowed for unreported landings, making a total of 11,400: "a number," he observes, "exceeding that of any year, except the immediate preceding one, for a considerable time past."

Your Committee are far from desiring to exaggerate the extent of the traffic in slaves to Cuba, or from calling in question the accuracy of the statements made by Her Majesty's Commissary. Nevertheless, an examination of the data on which the above report is founded, leaves the Committee under the impression that the number of slaves landed in Cuba in 1854 was greater than is reported. They believe it to be impossible, in the present condition of the island, for Her Majesty's Commissioner to procure accurate information as to the landings that take place; for it is obvious, that as almost all the Cuban officials have an interest in conniving at the illicit introduction of Africans, every device will be resorted to for the purpose of defeating inquiry. The official list of vessels reported to have arrived in 1854, with slaves, on the coast of Cuba, is extremely meagre in dates. Thus only one landing is reported in January; in February there are only two; in March one; and then none until May 10th. Another lapse of two months takes place between the latter date and the next, namely, July 10th. From the 10th of July to the 10th of October, six landings only are reported, and but two from this latter date to the end of December. Presuming on the fact that Mr. Backhouse's report for 1853 did not include the cargoes known to have been disembarked during a period of six months, and consisting of

upwards of 7000 slaves, your Committee consider themselves justified in concluding that a similar omission may have been made in his report for 1854, arising from a similar cause. In this conclusion they are strengthened by accounts from unofficial sources, which state that the slave-traffic to Cuba has not, for many years past, been so brisk as it is at the present time, and that any vigilance manifested by the authorities for its suppression is defeated by the increased vigilance of the traders, and those interested in the trade, to evade discovery and to mislead the superior authorities.

Reference is made by Mr. Backhouse to the occasional refusal to a slaver to land her cargo, owing to the fear entertained of the consequences by the local authorities, and of the seizures that have been now and then effected of a part of a cargo of Bozal negroes, in the hope that the Captain-General might be satisfied with the non-seizure of the entire cargo. These facts are quoted as proving the good effect of the exertions of the late Captain-General (the Marquis de Pezuela) was making to suppress the slave-traffic. Your Committee, however, have every reason to believe that these seizures were mere blinds, under cover of which the authorities were more effectually deceived; whilst it is not only notorious, but the fact is admitted by Mr. Crawford, that the Bozals seized "are generally the most sickly out of the cargo." The number seized during the year 1854 is set down in the official returns at 3299, and exceeds that in any former year.

THE EMANCIPADOS.—Admitting, however, that some progress has been made for the suppression of the slave-trade to Cuba, and that General Concha is disposed to carry out the alleged determination of the Spanish Government to put it down, your Committee deeply deplore to find that the Africans seized under the circumstances above referred to, and thereby classed as *emancipados*, only exchange one system of bondage for another. The abuse and cruelty flagrant under the system to which these unfortunate beings are subjected, have been fully exposed in a Memorial which your Committee addressed to Marshal Espartero, in March 1855, on Cuban Slavery and the Slave-trade. An attempt was made by an ordinance issued in January 1853 to remedy one of the chief abuses which had formed the subject of remonstrance, namely, the re-assignment, for an indefinite time, of emancipados legally entitled to their freedom under our treaties with Spain. The first step was a re-distribution, or re-assignment, from one year's service, of this class amongst the planters, at a rate of wages fixed by the *Junta Protectora de Emancipados*, or Committee of Protection, from which one-fourth was deducted to be appropriated to the benefit of the coloured

population generally. In all cases the rate of wages was considerably lower than the emancipados assigned could have earned had he been free to hire himself out. On the 28th December 1854 General Concha issued a new Decree, repealing the former regulations, and including many objectionable features. To one of these especially Mr. Backhouse deems it desirable to call the Earl of Clarendon's serious attention. It refers to the treatment of those negroes described as *emancipados* not belonging to the class of apprentices.

"In 1842," he says, "it was arranged, on the proposal of the Captain-General, and with the consent of Her Majesty's Government, that negroes who, having been illegally brought into Cuba from Africa, were thereupon seized and emancipated by the Spanish Government, should then be consigned as emancipados to the care of proper persons willing to educate them, and should, after five years, be made quite free. In the regulations drawn up a year ago" (in 1853) "professedly to put an end to the abuses to which this system had led, those lawfully in the condition of 'emancipados' were called 'apprentices;' and others who ought to have been made quite free, were called 'emancipados libertos;' and the treatment provided for the latter was only slightly different from that provided for the apprentices. Some pretext for such treatment for the single year for which they were then engaged might have been afforded by the notoriously neglected education of many of them; but now they are to be consigned as emancipados for three years 'instead of one,' and their attaining perfect freedom, such as is enjoyed by those whose rights have in former years been allowed, does not appear to be contemplated; they being continually subjected to a deduction from their earnings for the benefit of the Emancipado Fund."

Your Committee would remark on this fact, that it affords another illustration of the manner in which the Cuban Government renders nugatory measures conceived in a progressive spirit, and intended to alleviate the condition of the class held in bondage. It also exemplifies the statement so frequently reiterated by Abolitionists, that any measure, short of complete emancipation, is a delusion.

SLAVE-POPULATION. — Mr. Crawford states, that whatever may be the real number of the slave-population, he understands it to be far from a recognised fact, that the agricultural labourers in Cuba are insufficient in number for the land in cultivation. New lands have, indeed, been cleared, but at the expense, in a great measure, of old lands which have been abandoned, and from which the working gangs have been removed. Under any circumstances, he affirms upon authority, that though there may have been an increase of cultivated land, the labourers have augmented in a larger proportion. He further states a very awful fact,

namely, that from the end of June 1853 to the same period in 1854, the number of deaths among the slaves throughout the island was estimated at 16,000, a number equal to that of both negroes and Chinese supposed to have been introduced into the island during the same time. With respect to the numbers of the slave-population, Mr. Crawford asserts that it is extremely difficult to obtain accurate information on this point. He is of opinion that 500,000 is much too high; although, in 1843, the Earl of Aberdeen, quoting the census of 1841, set it down at 496,495, at the same time affirming, upon authority, that this number was notoriously believed to be only a few thousands above half of the actual slave-population. Wherefore, and taking into account the continual additions that have been annually made thereto by fresh importations, your Committee are of opinion that the present slave-population of Cuba must equal, if it do not even exceed, 1,000,000. It may be observed, in explanation of the systematic concealment and falsification of the number of the slave-population, that an accurate census—due allowances being made for natural increase—would shew conclusively the average yearly additions thereto, made by the slave traffic, and furnish conclusive evidence of the extent to which it is carried on.

IMMIGRATION.—Upwards of 1700 Chinese labourers were imported into Cuba in the year 1854. This new trade has been thrown open, with a view to encourage the introduction of immigrants on a large scale. Attempts had been made to bring over from Yucatan the Indians taken prisoners by the Mexicans, and the scheme would soon have degenerated into a real slave traffic. Happily, however, it has been only very partially carried into execution; and as the period during which permission was granted to import immigrants from Yucatan has expired, no further importations are likely to take place. It may be stated here, too, that negroes are greatly preferred to either Chinese or Indians, being, it is said, easier to manage.

GENERAL MEASURES.—The decrees of 1853, relating to the registration of slaves, have not been carried out, but have been superseded by others, which, as far as the evidence goes at present, appear likely to be equally disregarded. In like manner the stringent measure of following on the estates negroes suspected to have been imported, and seizing them, has been so far modified as to render the detection of them, under such circumstances, next to impossible.

Under the new enactment, nothing short of positive evidence is held to justify a visit of inspection; and it is obvious that such evidence is not likely to be readily forthcoming, when the interest of all parties lies in concealment of the facts. Mr. Crawford

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gives it, nevertheless, as the opinion of several persons who have been engaged in the traffic, that the various measures taken by the supreme authority of the island, for the abolition of the slave-trade, have had the result of bringing it nearly to a close in the Havana district, though it is still prosecuted vigorously in the more remote parts.

Your Committee would observe that there is a manifest discrepancy between this statement and the one made by Mr. Crawford in the same despatch, to the effect that the traffic in 1856 exceeded that in any year, except the preceding one, for many years past. If, however, this be the case to any extent, and the result is attributable to the vigorous action of the Captain-General, it is obvious that with him—as indeed Mr. Crawford himself observes—rests the responsibility of its continuance; an opinion your Committee have always maintained, and the soundness of which, experience is daily confirming.

PORTO-RICO.—A measure has been adopted by the Governor of this island which is much approved of by Her Majesty's Government, and which, indeed, appears to be conceived in a progressive spirit. It is a decree prohibiting the exportation of slaves from this colony to Cuba, (though they are both Spanish colonies,) save under special permission and restrictions. Mr. Consul Lindegren is of opinion that the Captain-General is quite in earnest; as a proof of which he states that he had interfered to prevent the surreptitious embarkation of 56 slaves to Cuba, which he succeeded in doing. The order is dated Porto-Rico, 7th March 1854. Another fact deserving of record is, that some parties there had been seeking to import a cargo of slaves from Africa, but the Governor refused positively to allow the introduction to take place, and the speculation had been defeated.

PERSIA.—The Persian authorities have had their attention directed to the importation of a number of slaves by the Arabs on the coasts of the Gulf, and appear to be actuated by a sincere desire to suppress the trade amongst these wild people. Owing, however, to the peculiar position of affairs in the provinces where these transactions are alleged to have taken place, the Persian authorities appear to experience considerable difficulty in dealing with the delinquents. Nevertheless, Mr. Thomson, Her Majesty's Agent at Teheran, expresses the opinion that the Persian Pashas are honestly endeavouring to carry out the convention of 1851 for the extinction of slave-trading, but your Committee are not in a position to state to what extent it is carried on.

TURKEY, THE LEVANT, &c.—The despatches of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, British Minister at Constantinople, set forth that the late Eastern contest had afforded the Turks an opportunity they had not neglected of carry-

ing on the trade in Georgian and Circassian slaves with increased vigour.

"There is," observes his Lordship, "much reason to believe that the traffic, which was carried on clandestinely before the war, in defiance of Russian prohibitions, has of late (Lord Stratford writes thus on the 9th September 1854) thrown off all disguise, and braved publicity without danger as without shame."

Consequent upon the remonstrances made by Lord Stratford, the Sultan issued two firmans, prohibiting the traffic in Georgians and Circassians, which ended with a declaration to the effect that women and children from the two provinces in question were not to pass through Anatolia, a declaration appended at the suggestion of Lord Stratford. Your Committee recorded this fact in their last Report. They regret to find that, notwithstanding the issue of these firmans, the traffic in Christian women and children from Georgia and Circassia had not diminished to any extent up to the latest dates to which intelligence from those localities had been received; whilst the naval officers cruising in the Black Sea assure the admiral of the fleet that "there does not appear to exist among the Turkish officials any anxiety to put a stop to the Circassian and Georgian slave-trade." In consequence of these discouraging statements, the Earl of Clarendon recommended Lord Stratford to intimate to the Ottoman Government that clear and stringent instructions should be sent to the authorities in the ports of the Black Sea, to the effect that the Pashas must be held strictly responsible for the punctual execution of the Sultan's orders declaring that this traffic is to cease.

CANDIA.—The Porte, in addition to the measures above referred to, also issued, in March 1855, a vizirial letter, addressed to the Pasha of Tripoli, directing him to prevent the trade in negro slaves between his government and the island of Candia.

CANEA, in CRETE.—Mr. Consul Ongley, writing to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe on the 4th January 1855, states that the traffic in slaves from Georgia and Circassia was little felt in that place, but that a good deal of it was being carried on between it and Barbary, in the persons of native Africans; and expresses a hope that some steps will be taken by the Turkish Government for its speedy suppression.

ERZERROOM AND KARS.—Wherever the Turks reside, the slave-trade appears to flourish. In these two places, and under the eyes of the British officers commanding the forces, purchases of lads and young women were effected by the Turkish commanders. Brigadier-General Williams, indignant at the shameless manner in which these transactions took place, addressed a letter on the subject to the Earl of Clarendon, but your Com-

mittee are as yet unaware of the steps which his Lordship considered it his duty to take thereupon. Lord Stratford had suggested that the British naval forces in the Black Sea should detain Ottoman vessels conveying slaves, but this suggestion could not be carried into effect, as no treaty for the suppression of the slave-trade exists between this country and the Porte. In his reply, conveying this intimation, the Earl of Clarendon requested Lord Stratford to give him his opinion whether it was probable the Porte would consent to make such a treaty. The Blue Books, however, for 1854, do not furnish Lord Stratford's reply.

TRIPOLI.—This is a consulate, including the vice-consulates of BENGASI, MORZOUK, DERNÄ, and MISURATA. The following is an abstract of the return of slaves exported from these places during the year 1854. From TRIPOLI, 472. In 1853 the number was 858; consequently there has been a diminution to the extent of 386. From Bengazi the total number shipped amounted to 526, whereas in 1853 it was only 300; shewing an increase of 226 during 1854. The total number that arrived in MORZOUK was 2900. In 1853 there were 291 less. The mortality arising from over-fatigue, dysentery, fever, and small-pox, may be judged of by the following statement, taken from the official return of M. Vice-Consul Gagliuffi, at Morzuk. Of 1766 brought from Bornu, comprising 950 males and 816 females, valued at 21,550*l.*, the mortality on the road was 15 per cent., and in the city 7 per cent. Of 662 brought from Haussa the mortality under both heads was 7 per cent. The remaining 472 were brought from Vadai and Ghat, and the loss was only 1 per cent. The average value of the male slaves is set down at 10*l.*, and of the females at 14*l.* For DERNÄ there was no return for 1855, and only two slaves appear to have been brought there in 1854. For the vice-consulate of MISURATA the returns shew a total of arrivals amounting to 500, and only 410 departures, the remainder being unaccounted for. The proportion of males to females was as 3 to 2. From the foregoing statement it would appear that the total number of African slaves exported from within the limits of the above-named consulate amounted to 4400, as nearly as can be estimated; whilst in 1853 the number was 3777, shewing a gross increase of 623. It must, however, be understood that this does not represent the actual numbers actually torn from their country to supply the Turkish markets, a large proportion of whom perish in the desert, leaving their bones to bleach by the way-side.

Your Committee would here remark that the disgraceful connivance at the trans-Levantine slave-traffic of the agents for the *Austrian Lloyd's Steam Company*, whose

vessels sail under the Austrian flag, has been made the subject of serious remonstrance by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe and the Earl of Clarendon, which your Committee hope to find will have produced the effect of putting a stop to this practice.

EGYPT.—In their last Report your Committee referred to the prohibition issued by the Viceroy of Egypt of the introduction of any more slaves from Abyssinia, Dongola, &c., into Egypt across the southern frontier. He has followed up that measure by issuing directions, that in case of slaves being clandestinely introduced they shall be considered entitled to their freedom, and be restored, whenever possible, to their country and friends. Some time must necessarily elapse before it can be ascertained whether these measures have had a successful result. Black slaves and black eunuchs form an essential part of the establishment of every rich Turk; and as they are supplied exclusively from the regions bordering on the Upper Nile, it is not unlikely that every attempt will be made by the provincial authorities to render inoperative the measures in question for the abolition of the traffic.

MIXED-COMMISSION COURTS.

SIERRA LEONE.—Since 1845 no case has been adjudicated in this Court, if we except one in 1851. The report for 1854 is quite blank.

HAVANA.—Only one case had been brought before this Court during the year. It was that of a vessel, fitted as a slaver, captured by Commander Hancock, of H.M.S. *Espiegle*. No sentence had been given, the vessel being "still before the Mixed Court," according to the terms of the official report. In 1853 there had been five adjudications, but none in 1852 or in 1851, whilst since 1835, the date of its institution, twenty-three cases only have been decided, twelve of which occurred in 1835 and 1836.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.—From 1843 to 1851 inclusive, only one adjudication has been made in this Court. In 1852 and 1853 there were none, and the report for 1854 is equally blank.

LOANDA.—Only one case had been adjudicated in this Court up to the date of the Commissioners' report, to the end of 1853. The vessel taken had been restored to her owners. No adjudications took place in 1852 or 1851, and only twelve from the 1st January 1844 to the 31st December 1850.

VICE-ADMIRALTY COURTS.

SIERRA LEONE.—One adjudication had taken place in this Court during the first half-year of 1854. It was that of a vessel captured by H.M. Sloop *Ferret* in the Rio Pongas, fully equipped for the slave-trade, and which, after judgment, was broken up.

ST. HELENA.—A slaver captured in Cabinda Bay was taken to St. Helena in May 1854, and condemned. It is the only case reported.

THE CRUISER SQUADRON.

AFRICA. WEST COAST.—The Reports of the naval officers on this coast go to prove that the vigilance of the cruisers, however great, does not materially check the enterprise of the slave-dealers. The American flag is made use of to cover the trade, which it does very successfully, the vessels engaged in it defying the officers of the cruising squadron to search them.

EAST COAST.—Mr. Commissioner Frère, writing to the Earl of Clarendon under date of the 27th March 1854, says, in his annual report, that large numbers of slaves had been collected at the *dépôts* on the East coast during 1853, but that Her Majesty's ships had not fallen in with any vessels engaged in the trade. He is of opinion that the naval force employed in this service is inadequate, and states that it is by mere chance any information respecting suspicious vessels can be obtained. Mr. Frère confirms the assertion which your Committee made some two years ago, as to the prevalence of the practice amongst the Trans-Vaal Boers, of enslaving natives in the vicinity of their republic. The subjoined is an extract from his despatch:

"I much regret to state, that, from information received by way of Natal, I can have no doubt but that the practice of enslaving natives is prevalent among the Boers in the Trans-Vaal republic. Some form of apprenticeship is gone through before the authorities; and, in mentioning a case of apprenticeship for twenty-five years, my informant added that many such cases occur in those regions. The Boers in the colony of Natal are mentioned as averse to the practice, and expressed satisfaction when claims for the restoration of an apprentice were disallowed by the magistrate."

Mr. Frère also refers to the arrival of the Rev. Dr. Livingstone at Loanda. This enterprising traveller had met, when in the interior of Africa, in the country of a chief named Sekeletu, two Portuguese traders from Biké, in Benguella, accompanied by some people of the Mambri tribe. Their object was to buy slaves, but this they were not allowed to do. They had several with them, chained in gangs of eight. One of the traders, Porto, learning that Dr. Livingstone was going to make his way to the Portuguese settlements, offered to take him back; but, to the honour of Dr. Livingstone, he refused, preferring to attempt the journey alone, because, had he accepted the offers of the Portuguese, he must have travelled with them and their slaves. Your Committee

consider this fact worthy of being recorded as a striking evidence of moral courage and principle strongly in contrast with the conduct of two other African travellers, Drs. Barth and Overweg, who, whilst engaged on their mission into Central Africa, one of the principal objects of which was to discourage slave-trading, have not hesitated to accompany the Sultan of Bornu on slave-hunting expeditions, and to buy slaves themselves, thus giving their countenance to a crime deserving of the reprobation of all mankind.

With regard to the slave-trade generally, on the East Coast of Africa, your Committee believe they may affirm, that although it is certainly by no means extinct, the exportation of slaves from the Mozambique channel and parts adjacent, extending from Delagoa Bay to beyond Zanzibar, a distance of 1300 miles, is nothing like so large as it was some few years back; and it is clearly established that the whole of the slaves carried off are conveyed to Cuba only, the Brazil trade being at an end.

OBSERVATIONS.

In closing this portion of their Report, your Committee would call your especial attention to the facts disclosed by the returns of the Commissioners of the Mixed Courts, of the Vice-Admiralty Courts, and by the despatches of the naval officers employed on the various stations occupied by our cruisers. They believe no impartial mind can remain unconvinced that the cruiser-system, as a means of suppressing the traffic in slaves, has failed. The returns of the Mixed-Commission Courts, instituted under certain treaties, and whose office is to adjudicate vessels taken on the high seas by the cruisers of the contracting parties, shew, that since 1835, that is, during a period of twenty years—remarkable for the activity with which the slave-trade was prosecuted—only forty-three slavers have been captured, of which twenty-two, taken on suspicion, were restored to their lawful owners. This proves how successfully the parties engaged in this infamous traffic know how to evade pursuit. The returns of the Vice-Admiralty Courts, whose jurisdiction extends, under certain Acts of Parliament, to vessels sailing under no flag, or under the flag of any power not under treaty with Great Britain to abolish the slave-trade, and which may be captured by Her Majesty's cruisers on any part of the high seas, on suspicion of being engaged in the slave-trade, do not exhibit a very much more satisfactory result. The number of vessels captured, though considerable, averages about twenty a-year, the majority having been taken off the coast. Very few of them had slaves on board, and they form but an extremely small proportion of those which are known to have got clear off with their human cargoes. This

fact demonstrates that even a close blockade does not materially interfere with the operations of the slave-traders, whose vigilance, and that of their colleagues on shore, is only sharpened by the difficulties they have to encounter. That a system which your Committee regard as radically vicious should not have had better results, in so far as the checking of the trade is concerned, is no impeachment of the skill, enterprise, and vigilance of the naval officers employed in this dangerous and ungrateful service. Those results only add another to the many proofs which already existed, that so long as the incentive to contraband trading is sufficiently great, the supply of the commodity in request—be it goods or human beings—will be limited only by the demand, wholly irrespective of the perils that may surround the delivery of the same. It is greatly to be regretted that a system which has cost this country not less than half a million annually, ever since it has been in operation, (now many years,) should be persisted in, when its abortiveness can be so conclusively demonstrated. Your Committee have had the misfortune to differ on this point from many tried friends of the cause of the slave, whose estrangement, and the loss of whose valuable co-operation, they have sincerely deplored. Time, however, has proved the soundness of the views your Committee ventured to express, and disclosed facts which fully justify the course they adopted.

Your Committee have already referred to the abuse made of the American flag in the prosecution of the slave-trade. It is equally notorious that a very large number of vessels are annually fitted out in the American ports for this purpose. It is affirmed that thirty left the port of New York last year, the firms concerned in these nefarious enterprises being very well known. Quite recently a vessel was captured in New-York Bay, and was found to be fully equipped for the African trade in men. No one, however, came forward to claim her, and she remained the lawful prize of her captors. With not less impunity are slavers fitted out in the Spanish ports, and your Committee recently gave information to the Government which it is hoped may lead to the detention of the vessels that were about to be despatched on a slave-trading voyage. These facts reflect indelible disgrace upon the Governments that permit or connive at such transactions, and should be visited with the severest reprobation.

Your Committee rejoice to find that Her Majesty's Government is alive to the importance of throwing open the African coast, with a view to supplant the traffic in slaves by legitimate commerce; and that the Consuls and Agents on the African stations are

directing their efforts to the same object. Treaties have been made with the native kings and chiefs, by which they bind themselves to protect legitimate traders, on payment of certain dues agreed upon, and to discourage slave-dealing. In June 1854, an agreement of this kind was entered into between the British officers deputed for the up-river service and the Prince Machilla, King Mazelle, and the chiefs and headmen of the Congo river, the most influential personages on this part of the coast, and whose example will probably be followed by others. The commander of the expedition describes them as peaceful and well disposed, and extremely anxious to be on good terms with the British.

Another agreement, of a similar kind, was also concluded in September between Mr. Campbell, Consul for the Bight of Benin, and Kosoko of Lagos and his caboceers, by which they solemnly pledged themselves to abandon the slave-trade, neither allowing the export of slaves from, nor any slave-trader to reside at, their port, or at any other place within their jurisdiction and influence.

A third treaty, of a similar kind, was also concluded in January of the same year with the kings and chiefs of the old and new Calabar rivers, to which further articles, calculated to give more stringency to the original treaty, were added in October.

The same policy is being pursued on the East Coast, and probably, by this time, treaties have been concluded with the chiefs of Comoro and Mohilla, and with those of Mozambique and Angoza.

These, with the establishment of regular steam communication with the coast, and of consulates in eligible localities, are measures wisely conceived, and from which the best results may be anticipated, provided faith be kept with the native potentates, and leniency shewn to such of the contracting parties who—if any there be—under great temptations, may be induced, at the outset, to evade their treaty obligations. A nation like Great Britain can afford to be magnanimous: it is even her duty to be so to allies like these African chiefs, whose cupidity has been excited by the gains of a traffic she herself once countenanced, and which is in accordance with the barbarous customs of heathenism, and congenial to barbarous habits. Deeply indeed is it to be deplored that Spain should exhibit to the civilized world the melancholy spectacle of a professing Christian Government sanctioning a traffic so odious as that in human beings. It cannot be too often repeated, that to her now belongs the unenviable distinction of being the only power that openly and notoriously sanctions it, and which, in so doing, is apostate to the engagements she has solemnly contracted to suppress it.

SLAVERY.

The facts your Committee have to submit under this head will, they trust, encourage the friends of humanity in the belief that the anti-slavery cause is making very decided progress. If in those countries where the institution has taken deepest root that progress is not so rapid as might be wished, it is nevertheless satisfactory to know that it is perceptible, and that there exists every reasonable prospect of its gaining strength.

AMERICA.

The Nebraska-Kansas Bill, which was carried by the pro-slavery party in 1854, and considered to be a great triumph, inasmuch as it threw open a vast territory to Slavery, has proved, like the Fugitive Slave Law, a source of weakness. Its first effect was to open the eyes, to the unscrupulous designs of the Slave-power, even of those who had never taken any part against it, but who, whilst content to allow matters to remain in *statu quo*, were not disposed to countenance a flagrant breach of the national faith, as pledged to the maintenance of the Missouri Compromise. They protested against the measure as one pregnant with danger, and as the first of a series of encroachments of which no one could see the end or foretell the consequences. But the Slave-power, putting forth all its strength, triumphed for the hour. The next result, however, was the organizing of a party pledged to the restoration of the Missouri Compromise, confining Slavery to certain geographical limits, and the arraying—for the first time, and on an intelligible principle—of Freedom against Slavery. The State elections gave a considerable majority to the latter party, and were the means of diffusing a mass of information throwing light on the designs of the Southern oligarchy, and arousing a spirit of resistance to its aggressive policy as encouraging as it was unlooked for. Very soon a new element in this novel struggle manifested itself. The friends of freedom repaired to Kansas, with the view of settling it with non-slaveholders. This they endeavoured to effect through the instrumentality of *Emigrants' Aid Societies*. Alive to the importance of obtaining a majority there, the supporters of Southern interests repaired thither also in great numbers; but finding themselves still the weaker party, they bribed voters from Missouri to come in and fraudulently turn the elections. In a similar manner they defeated every measure attempted by the friends of liberty, and finally committed the most violent assaults upon them. Several serious riots arose out of these proceedings, and at this moment fears are entertained of the outbreak of a border warfare. Each party, however, determined to test its strength, appointed a Governor, and de-

manded his recognition. The President has, it seems, decided in favour of the pro-slavery candidate, on grounds which clearly shew his bias. But the abolitionist party are resolved not to be beaten, and have recently obtained, after a protracted struggle, the appointment of a Commission of three members of the House of Representatives, authorized to repair to the scene of these disgraceful proceedings, and there to institute a rigid inquiry into the frauds perpetrated during the late elections in that territory. This is a great victory, and has had the effect of stimulating and encouraging the Abolitionists to renewed efforts.

But one of the most striking proofs of the progress which the anti-slavery spirit has made in the United States has been given by the election of Mr. Banks as Speaker of the House. The anti-Nebraska majority, though strongly opposed, maintained a manful conflict for some weeks, and, after dividing the House 139 times, finally triumphed in obtaining the election of an anti-slavery Speaker in the person of Mr. Banks, by a majority of three. This triumph was obtained by the party now called the Republican, and is doubtless the prelude to more important victories. The circumstance was hailed with joy by the Abolitionists generally, and celebrated as a marked congressional victory over the slave power. So important is it in its significance, that it is even hailed as a sure token of an approaching complete triumph.

In other directions the contest between Freedom and Slavery has been prosecuted not less successfully. Never have so many slaves escaped from the South as during the past year, and their numbers are rapidly increasing. As a restraint upon this peculiar kind of immigration, the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 has proved a signal failure. It is true that a few men and women have been remanded into Slavery through its instrumentality, and some free-born persons of each sex kidnapped under it, whilst it has caused the flight from their homes to abodes of greater security of many others, terror-stricken by its promulgation. Nevertheless, the re-action against it has been so great, and augments so rapidly, that even the most sagacious champions of the slave-power perceive that it was an immense blunder.

It would seem as if defeat only maddens the supporters of the South, instead of inciting them to moderation, and to devise measures in accordance with the spirit of the times. But even a temporary victory turns to their ultimate discomfiture, as was demonstrated by the case of Passmore Williamson. In this instance, one Colonel Wheeler, United-States Minister to Nicaragua, attempted, in July last, to convey three of his slaves through the States of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York, on his way from Vir-

ginia to his ultimate destination. In Philadelphia, Passmore Williamson, Secretary of the Acting Committee of the *Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery*, and others, interfered to defeat his illegal purpose, by informing Jane Johnson that, according to the laws of Pennsylvania, slaves brought *in transitu* into that State became entitled to freedom, and therefore she and her children might safely go whither they pleased. She thereupon took possession of herself and of her two children, and the baffled slaveholder now sought to vent his indignation on the noble men who had come between him and his prey. An application was made to Judge Kane, of the United-States District Court, for a writ of *habeas corpus* commanding Williamson to produce the bodies of Jane Johnson and her two children. Williamson naturally refused to do that which was, on his part, impossible, and for this refusal was condemned for contumacy, and remanded to prison. For three months this noble-hearted man remained in the felon's cell, under circumstances of domestic disquietude of a most touching and even distressing nature. During this time every device was employed to induce him to "make terms with the Court," but fruitlessly. At length, on the 3d November, he was again brought up before Judge Kane, and, on the simple reiteration of his former statement, was set at liberty, a result due in no small measure to the storm of indignation his committal had aroused.

But one of the most important effects of this act of Judge Kane's was to still further open the eyes of the community to the dangerous designs of the slave-power; for in this instance the writ of *habeas corpus*, framed and regarded as the bulwark of personal freedom, was boldly perverted to the uses of Slavery, inasmuch as it was issued on this occasion to reduce free persons to bondage. Here was a danger, not "looming in the distance," but actually at the door of every free man. The legal profession denounced the act as a violation of law and a trampling on the rights of the citizen. The principal and most influential presses of the North joined in this denunciation; whilst testimonials and expressions of sympathy poured in upon the prisoner, and thousands of his fellow-citizens from the East and the West came thronging to his cell as to a temple of liberty, and bore away to their distant homes influences and memories more than ever hostile to the power of despotism. Meetings, too, were held in various parts of the country, and resolutions condemnatory of Judge Kane, and sympathizing with his victim, were passed with acclamation amidst great excitement. In a word, this bold act not only infused new fire into the abolition move-

ment, but also roused the supine into activity, and kindled in the breasts of many the first spark of sentiment hostile to Slavery.

The importance of the issue raised by this act of Judge Kane's may be stated in a few words. It was intended to establish, as a precedent, that slaveholders have the right to convey their slaves, *as their property*, through the free States, thus converting, under such circumstances, every Northern State into a slaveholding State, for the time being, and this in spite of the dicta of the highest legal authorities, to the effect, that whenever the slave passes from under the jurisdiction of the special statute which enslaves him, he comes under the common law, and resumes his natural right to liberty. But it would have done even more than this, for it would have given to any slave-State the right of determining that what is *property* in it shall be also property in any other State, slave or free, notwithstanding the statutes of such State to the contrary. Here, then, was an interference with the independent action and sovereignty of the free States, an infringement of their prerogative, calculated to alarm them and to jeopardize the integrity of the principle on which the Union is based. No wonder, therefore, that so much excitement was occasioned by this barefaced attempt to foster Southern institutions on the North, and to cozen the latter out of their rights and privileges, and that the attempt was ultimately defeated, at the same time that it awakened even the most apathetic to a sense of danger they had never before suspected to exist.

Another blow has been successfully aimed at the slave power in the passing by the Massachusetts Legislature of the *Personal-Liberty Bill*, the object of which is, to secure to every individual his personal liberty within the jurisdiction of that State. The majorities were 32 to 3 in the Senate, and 229 to 76 in the House of Representatives. The measure originated out of the disgraceful rendition of Burns, whose case was alluded to in your Committee's last Report.

In another instance public opinion in the North has strongly manifested itself. Judge Loring, who rendered an adverse decision in the case of the fugitive Anthony Burns, was first ejected from his Lectureship at Cambridge (Mass.) by a vote of twenty to seven. Then a petition was addressed to the Governor of the State, praying for the removal of the Judge from his office, which, on being referred to and discussed in the Legislature, passed the House by a vote of 207 to 11, and the Senate by one of 28 to 11. It is true that the State Governor (H. J. Gardner) refused to comply with this just demand of the people, but in consequence of this act, there is every probability of his being himself

ignominiously rejected, when the next elections take place.*

Your Committee might extend this portion of their Report almost indefinitely by introducing other equally interesting illustrations of the progress which the anti-slavery struggle is making in the United States; but their periodical, the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, will be found to contain, in some detail, the principal events which have occurred, and, as nearly as possible, in their natural order, according to date. They are of opinion, however, that a brief review of the present position of the anti-slavery party in the United States will be quite in place here, and may serve to stimulate the friends of the cause in this and in other countries to renewed exertions, and to bear a consistent testimony against a system so odious and hateful as that of Slavery.

And, first, as to the States themselves.

Originally nearly the whole of these were slave-holding; now the number of them is reduced to fifteen out of thirty-one. Fraud and violence are, indeed, endeavouring to add Kansas to them, but the result of the attempt has yet to be seen. It will probably prove abortive. Slavery has but a bare possibility in Mexico; a very faint and distant hope in Utah; the remote contingency of a subdivision of Texas; the chances of a war with Spain for Cuba; and of depredations on Mexico. But with both these powers the free States can maintain peace, provided only they be tolerably unanimous, and observe only ordinary discretion. With regard to New Mexico, physical causes and the prejudices of the native population are certain to embarrass all attempts to convert it into a slave State. Utah is out of the question, at least until the Mormon controversy is settled, for Mormonism opposes a formidable barrier to the settlement in that territory of colonists from the North or South; and as for Texas, want of population must operate to restrain for an indefinite period any movement of this kind; let alone the fear that prevails lest, owing to the presence of the German settlers, who are to a man opposed to Slavery, any attempt to settle it might involve its immediate establishment as a free State.

On the other hand, Freedom is rapidly gaining ground. Minnesota, in the North-west, has now a population abundantly numerous enough for a State; and as her area exceeds 166,000 square miles, she will in

due time form the basis of three States. Oregon, too, north of California and Utah, and having Nebraska between it and Minnesota, has an area of 185,000 square miles, and must sooner or later be divided into three States also. It is already in process of organization. Washington, having an area of 123,000 square miles, will constitute two States. The admission of these three, as States, will augment the free-State majority in the Senate from two to eight, and in the House, from fifty-six to sixty, with the certain prospect of the rapid increase of the latter, from the growth of the population. Then there is California, with an area of 155,000 square miles, now seriously agitating the project of a division, with a view to the erection of three States, all to retain the prohibition of Slavery. Hence it will be seen that the time cannot be far distant when there will be eight free States on the Pacific coast instead of one. With the three States to be formed in Minnesota, the free States will then number twenty-six instead of sixteen; will have a delegation in the Senate of fifty-two instead of thirty-two, and will constitute an unconquerable majority in the House. Nor is this all, for Nebraska, with an area of 335,000 square miles, given up by the slaveholders, will become the nursery of five or six free States.

Secondly, as to territory.

The territory at present organized into free States comprises an area of 612,597 square miles, to which must be added the areas of Oregon, Washington, Nebraska, and Minnesota, amounting to 809,959 square miles, giving an aggregate area of territory, certainly free, of not less than 1,422,556 square miles. The other territories, namely, Utah, New Mexico, and Kansas, and the Indian territory, comprising an area of 662,102 square miles, cannot be classed as slave territory. At the most a claim is raised to them by the slaveholders, which, it is to be hoped, will be exploded in Kansas, and which will render it difficult, if not impossible, for them to make good in relation to any of the rest. Against this vast area, actual and probable, secured to freedom, Slavery has territory organized into States covering an area of only 815,508 square miles.

But there is another consideration which must not be lost sight of, and which is of exceeding great importance in estimating the probable progress of the cause of freedom: we allude to the peculiar geographical position of the free States. It will be found that they command the whole of the Pacific coast; all the great seaports on the Atlantic; the whole system of inland seas, stretching from the Atlantic westward towards the Pacific Ocean: that they own the shipping, control the commerce, and possess the dis-

* We are much indebted to the admirable report of the *American Anti-Slavery Society* for 1855, for the information we have been able to collate on the progress of the anti-slavery cause in the United States, and also to *Facts for the People*, an anti-slavery serial published by Dr. G. Bailey, of the *National Era*, Washington.

posable capital of the country; that is, that portion of it most available for immediate employment or conversion: that in internal improvements, education, the arts, in science, literature, invention, and enterprise, they stand immeasurably beyond comparison with the slave States; hence they actually possess the power of securing the perpetual ascendancy of freedom, of free labour, of free institutions, and of so controlling the Federal Government, that not only is it doubtful whether—if they so will it—the Union can be seriously injured by Slavery, but it is certain they can facilitate its rapid extinction by peaceful and constitutional methods.

Thirdly, in relation to population. Large as the slave population is, relatively it is smaller than at the formation of the Constitution, though there are many fewer slave States. At that time it was as one to five and a-half of the free population; whereas now, according to the last census, it is only as one to seven and a-half. In sixty years it has increased from 697,000 to 3,200,000, or 358 per cent., whilst the white has augmented from 3,172,000 to 19,553,000, or 516 per cent. Foreign immigration has been an all-powerful element in this surprising increase, carrying it forward with such impetuosity, and giving it so vast a preponderance over the slave population, as greatly to diminish the hazards of a servile insurrection on the one hand; or, on the other, and in the event of so deplorable a contingency, to prove a bulwark to save the Federal Government and the country generally from fatal damage. But for this accession to the white population from foreign immigration, however, the slaves would constitute one in two, instead of one in seven of the people. It is, then, quite obvious, that, with a free population so rapidly gaining on the slave, there is every reasonable hope of its becoming strong enough, not only to prevent the great evil from becoming unmanageable, but to abate it in such a way as to save the cause of freedom from shipwreck.

Fourthly, with respect to political power, the non-slaveholders have been steadily gaining it ever since 1790, when the slave States elected forty-nine members to serve in the House of Representatives. The free States then sent fifty-seven, securing a majority of eight. In 1850, after a struggle of sixty years' duration, the delegation in the House from the slave States is ninety, whilst from the free States it is one hundred and forty-four; being a majority for the latter of fifty-four, or nearly seven times greater than that of 1790.

In connection with this branch of the subject, and having a most important bearing upon it, we must not omit to record that the white population of the free States increased from 1,900,976 in 1790, to 13,330,650 in 1850, or 601 per cent.; whilst, on the other

hand, that of the slave States, originally at 1,271,488, at the first-named period, reached only 6,222,418 in the latter, shewing an augmentation of only 388 per cent. In other words, the white population in the free States, which was only about 600,000 greater than that of the slave States in 1790, now exceeds it by seven millions. What can Slavery do against so mighty an army as this?

Fifthly, public opinion against the institution of Slavery is gaining strength, and is organizing itself to accomplish its abolition.

There may be some cause of discouragement in this respect, perhaps; but so long as progress can be demonstrated, the signs of the times may be said to be hopeful. It is quite true that all the ruling influences at the South are enlisted on the opposite side; that the clergy are shamefully demoralized, and false to their sacred calling; that statesmanship is debauched, and prostitutes itself to the slave-power; that the press is enslaved; that slaveholders grow more and more unscrupulous; that they have succeeded in carrying measures apparently calculated to strengthen themselves; and that they seize every opportunity of consolidating their power. All this is undoubtedly true, but it does not therefore follow that public opinion does not make itself heard and felt; that, in fact, the cause of freedom has not made great and rapid strides. The South, notwithstanding its jealousy, has been rendered accessible to the abolition leaven. Northern newspapers, teeming with anti-slavery opinions and views, find their way by thousands into the Southern States. One paper, devoted to abolition, namely, the *National Era*—a paper originally set on foot by an Abolitionist Society in the North—is established on slave soil, being published at the very seat of the Federal Government, and exchanges with hundreds of Southern newspapers, including nearly all the leading journals. The same may be said, though to a less extent perhaps, of the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, the organ of the *American Anti-Slavery Society*; of the *New-York Tribune*, and other Northern journals which make abolitionism a leading feature. The quarterlies and periodicals published in Great Britain and other foreign countries, and which contain occasional discussions of the Slavery question, are extensively read by Southern planters, and lie upon the tables in the public reading-rooms and clubs. Every year the debates in Congress on Slavery, *pro* and *con*, fully reported, are circulated widely in the Southern States. In nearly all national conventions, where Northern and Southern delegates meet face to face, the subject comes up for discussion, and what is said is despatched by telegraph to all sections of the Republic. Northern men go to the South; Southern planters repair to the North; visit it on business, send

their sons to be educated at its colleges, and are familiar with its literature: they also travel into foreign countries, and hear the sentiments of the most enlightened men of the day against the institution of Slavery. In fact, the South is made to feel the pressure of anti-slavery sentiment in ways innumerable; and extreme as is the ground now taken by its politicians, and by its political press generally, there is abundant evidence that it is not sustained by a large body of Southern people, who, nevertheless, are as yet restrained from expressing their dissent. Even as it is, many journals in the slave States openly condemn the outrages of the pro-slavery party in Kansas: some as openly favour the organization of a free State in that territory. In Virginia, one leading journal in the western section is boldly denouncing Slavery on economical grounds: several well-known newspapers, in other Southern States, strongly urge a mitigation of the slave-code, so that marriage may be legalized amongst slaves, the family-bond preserved, and slaves be taught to read. Even in South Carolina, a leading religious organ is found insisting upon the education of the slave population as a religious duty; nor must the fact be omitted, that, in Kentucky, the Emancipationists, Cassius M. Clay, J. G. Fee, and others of the same stamp, maintain their ground, asserting and exercising the right of openly discussing the question of Slavery, and holding public anti-slavery meetings.

To the foregoing indications of a strong sentiment in the South, may be added the evidences of increased interest in the subject in the North. The anti-slavery bazaars have never been so well attended, nor so successful, in a pecuniary sense, as during the last year. The principal abolitionist orators of the day address crowded assemblages of eager and anxious listeners, and the speeches of the anti-slavery members of Congress are greedily caught up and quoted, whilst they themselves rise in popular estimation in proportion as they honestly vindicate the right of free speech, and that of a man to his natural liberty. Anti-slavery organizations have never been in more vigorous operation, nor have their agents ever been better received. In addition to the *American Society* and its various auxiliaries, established in the chief cities of the North, which has done and is yet doing noble work, the *New-York Radical Abolition Society*, established last year, and now called the *American Abolition Society*, has gained ground considerably, and numbers in its ranks men who have already rendered the cause good service, and whose name and influence are calculated to impart strength to any agitation they undertake. This Society, like its prototype, the *American Anti-Slavery Society*, demands the immediate and unconditional abolition of American

Slavery, but proposes to attempt its achievement by organizing a party that shall maintain its principles at the ballot-box, and not vote for any one who is not pledged to radical abolitionism. In this important respect it differs from previous organizations of a similar kind, but for this reason is perhaps likely to promote the cause of freedom in directions practically inaccessible to them. Nor must omission be made of other agencies, such as the *Vigilance Committees*, instituted to aid fugitives on their way to Canada, and which are doing good anti-slavery work of its kind; nor of the *American Missionary Association*, which, unlike the *American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, bears faithful testimony against slavery at home as well as abroad, and consistently refuses to admit slaveholding members to church-fellowship. Nor are the free coloured people without their special organ in *Frederick Douglass's paper*; an instrumentality of vast importance, instituted to incite them to self-improvement, self-exertion, and self-reliance. All these agencies are producing a noticeable effect in improving the tone of public opinion, and in giving it a practical direction. Indeed, so palpable is this fact, and so marked the progress which the Abolitionists, as a party, have made, that the *Charleston Mercury* of the 9th of April last—a journal published in the very hot-bed of slavery—makes the following remarkable admission, in reply to an assertion that had been advanced to the effect that abolitionism is inherently weak, and has no force as a moral or a political tenet. It says:

"We point to the history of Abolition, both in Europe and America, to prove what we believe to be true, that no party has arisen among mankind, during the last hundred years, which has given such indisputable evidence of inherent strength, or that has gained so many victories over its opponents, over the established orders of society and civilization, with or without resorting to the armies and navies of powerful states and empires, as the Abolition party has done. * * * And it may be safely asserted, that no military conqueror, who has disturbed the repose of the world and scourged the nations of the earth with the rod of his power, has effected such vast changes upon the social and commercial interests and organism of society as Abolition has already done: and still uncloyed with its mighty victories, heeding nor adversity nor defeat; insatiable as the grave, it pursues its steady course, unchecked in its march, confident of gaining still more important, more devastating triumphs. And with these great historic feats before our eyes, and the steady tramp, tramp of the abolition forces sounding in our ears, and disturbing our slumbers, we refuse to realize the truth, the perils of our condition, and persevere in ascribing to this mighty element of disruption and subjugation this destroyer of civilization and structures, inherent weakness. May a ruling Providence open our eyes to the truth before it be too late!"

Your Committee submit that this is a remarkable testimony in favour of the inherent power of a righteous cause prosecuted by moral force, especially coming from such a quarter. It proves that, notwithstanding the many discouraging circumstances which have not unfrequently clouded the horizon and temporarily dispirited the friends of the slave, their labours have not been lost, and it should stimulate them to renewed and more energetic efforts. If, with so many triumphs to inscribe on their banners, and with so much inherent strength, it be asked why the Abolitionists have permitted the South to acquire the ascendancy which, as a party, it undoubtedly has, the answer is, that it is due to the disloyalty of the non-slaveholders of the free States to their own institutions, not less than to the subjugation of Federal Government by the slaveholders. If the North were but true to itself, the Federal Government would soon be emancipated from its thralldom, and the slave-power, which now strikes dumb the Editor, the statesman, and the preacher, where it does not compel them to become its champions, must inevitably fall to pieces, for Slavery, would cease to be a source of political power. Still, looking back upon the past, with its vicissitudes, its struggles, and its victories, your Committee see so much to strengthen the faith and hope of the friends of freedom, so much to awaken in them thanksgiving and rejoicing, that they are tempted to express a hope that the end is near, and that ere long the shout of final triumph may be raised, mingled with fervent thanks to Him who giveth not always "the race to the swift, nor the battle to the strong."

BRAZIL.

The cessation of the African slave-trade to Brazil may now be regarded, your Committee trust, as a *fait accompli*, and evidence is not wanting that public sentiment is fast improving in relation to the question of Emancipation, probably owing to the resolute tone adopted by the Emperor, who is known to be favourably disposed towards it.

Some dissatisfaction has been expressed by the principal statesmen of the country at the non-revocation of the Acts of the British Parliament of 1839 and 1845, under which the cruisers of our navy, board vessels sailing under the Portuguese flag, and subject them to search, if they have reason to suspect them of being engaged in the slave-trade; but your Committee entertain no doubt that Her Majesty's Government will comply with the wishes of the Brazilian cabinet as soon as they have reason to believe that they are justified in so doing. Such an act would probably encourage the Brazilian Government to proceed in the series of measures it

has already inaugurated to render slave-trading more difficult.

As an evidence of the progressive spirit that prevails, your Committee may refer to two Bills which were presented in the course of 1854 to the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies, the one proposing to prohibit the dealing in and conveyance of slaves coastwise, or from one province to another, except when travelling with their respective owners; the other, granting freedom, 1st, to slaves unable to maintain themselves by the produce of their own labour, and compelling their masters to keep them, or to grant them an alimentary pension; and 2dly, to slaves who beg with the consent of their masters. Both these Bills were presented by Señor Wanderley, President of the province of Bahia. The first was discussed, but not voted upon, and was consequently re-committed till the following session (that of 1855). It met with considerable opposition; but the abolition party is strong, and it is a remarkably encouraging fact, that the Bill was introduced with a view to prepare the way for emancipation, the plan being to put a stop to the transfer of slaves from one province to another first, then to remove them from the towns to the country. With respect to the second Bill, it did not come under discussion at all, and was also re-committed for consideration in 1855.

However short these projected measures may fall of the one radical mode of putting an end to Slavery, your Committee rejoice in them as evidences of progress in a country whose slave population stands next highest to that of the United States, and where, until quite recently, the subject of emancipation was almost a prohibited topic.

One great step in advance has, however, already been made in the promulgation of a Decree, dated the 10th of January 1855, by which the conveyance of slaves from one province to another without passports is prohibited under very heavy fine and the penalty of eight days' imprisonment. This Decree will restrict the practice, now carried on upon a large scale, of sending slaves from the northern provinces to the market at Rio de Janeiro, and by which it is said those provinces are deprived of the necessary hands for field labour.

Mr. Consul Vereker, however, writing to the Earl of Clarendon, from Rio Grande do Sul, expresses the opinion that the slaves will gradually be removed Southward. He reiterates the opinion we quoted last year, as to the feeling growing in that province respecting the abolition of Slavery there before many years, owing to the facilities that exist for promoting free labour, and to the advantages which the mildness of the climate holds out to immigrants from Europe. These, it would seem, are repairing thither in numbers sufficiently large to enable the proprietors of estates to dispense with slave-labour.

Your Committee believe they are not in error in ascribing the initiation of the measures above referred to, to the efforts of the *Rio-de-Janeiro Anti-Slavery Society*, which numbers amongst its members some of the most distinguished philanthropists of Brazil. Its principles are in unison with your own; and several very gratifying communications have taken place between your Committee and Senor de Galvao, the Secretary of the Society, who procured the publication, in the principal Rio journals, of a somewhat lengthy article on the abolition of the Slave-trade and Slavery in Brazil, addressed to him by your Secretary. This communication appears to have excited considerable attention, and caused the appearance of other articles taking quite a favourable view of Emancipation, as well as of others in a contrary sense. That such articles, however, should have been permitted to appear at all, is an indication of the existence of a progressive spirit, which is highly encouraging.

THE DANUBIAN PROVINCES.

In the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* for February last will be found the text of a Decree issued on the 28th of November last by Prince Ghika, the Hospodar of the Danubian Principalities, abolishing Serfdom there. The Serfs numbered about 300,000. It was accompanied by a promise to grant their owners compensation, but the latter refused to accept it.

Notwithstanding that Serfdom, as an institution, possesses many features which render it less odious in some respects than Slavery, and less oppressive, it has always justly been regarded by Abolitionists as a gross violation of the natural right of a man to his personal liberty, and classed with Slavery as a thing they are justified in seeking to extirpate.

It is a gratifying circumstance to record that the Decree in question is alleged to have been received with every mark of satisfaction.

EGYPT.

Progress in this country appears also to have been made. In November last the Divan prohibited the sale and purchase of slaves in Egypt, and declared free all those held by private persons. Your Committee are indebted for this information to a Parisian Journal, in the columns of which the statement appeared, but they are not yet in possession of the details of the measure.

FRANCE, AND THE FRENCH COLONIES.

It is gratifying to find that the French Government is alive to the importance of promoting the development of the resources of her colonies in the West Indies, in the island of Bourbon, and in Northern Africa. In them all, but especially in Algeria, efforts

are being made on an extensive scale to encourage the cultivation of cotton and sugar. Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Guiana have sent specimens of the former article to Paris, and those forwarded from Algeria are quite equal to them in quality. Premiums have also been offered to the labouring population for the production of staples indigenous to the colony and in the island of Bourbon; an exhibition of its products appears to have been remarkably successful, and to have brought out the capabilities of the labouring population to a remarkable extent. With regard to their social condition, whilst there is much left to desire, there is also very much to encourage the advocates of emancipation in the manifest improvement that has taken place. Marriages are steadily on the increase, and the depraving habits contracted during slavery are fast disappearing. Those in authority speak hopefully of them, and there is no reason at all to doubt that they are progressing in spite of many drawbacks, and present an additional illustration of the advantages as of the safety of Emancipation.

HOLLAND.

The State Commission appointed in 1853 by the King of Holland, to take into consideration the question of emancipating the slaves in the Dutch Colonies, has only recently, after two years' labours, published its first report. Its instructions were:

1st. To inquire what measures should be taken by the government with reference to the actual condition of the slave population in the Dutch colonies.

2dly. To publish the result of the investigations instituted, adding such propositions as these may have suggested.

In its report the Commission recommends the adoption of measures for the abolition of slavery in the Dutch West Indies, but the following are, in substance, the principles on which its project of emancipation is based:

1st. There is to be no emancipation without compensation to the slave-proprietors.

2dly. The emancipated are to refund to the State the amount of their individual enfranchisement-money, and the cost of their being, what is styled, established in the social scale.

3dly. The legislature is to reserve to itself the right of determining in what manner these conditions shall be fulfilled.

4thly. The abolition of Slavery is not to interfere with the preaching of the gospel, nor to be so carried out as to obstruct civilization and the public prosperity. In the event of dispossession by the State, such dispossession is to be for the public benefit.

It is obvious that the recommendations of the Commission amount practically to a deferring of the settlement of the whole question to an indefinite period. The proprietors of

the slaves demand, through their agents in Amsterdam, the sum of 20,000,000 guilders, or about 1,700,000*l.* sterling, or nearly 45*l.* each.* As the average amount granted to the slaveowners of the British Colonies was 27*l.*, and to those of the French Colonies, 20*l.*, and as the example of compensation set by ourselves appears to form the principle on which it is proposed that Emancipation in the Dutch Colonies should take place, it is unlikely that so large an amount as that demanded by the Dutch slaveholders of Surinam will be accorded. Hence a protracted struggle may, and will probably, ensue on this point, the result of which it is impossible to foresee. Even, however, should the question be settled by yielding to the slave-owners' demands, the principle involved in the second article is extremely unjust, for it would have the effect of re-assigning to servitude those whom the former article professes to emancipate, and, taken in connection with the third article, seems calculated only to remove the enslaved class out of the hands of their actual owners, into those of the State. Besides this, there is the contingent gross immorality of the State's becoming the only slave-holder, and thus transferring to the Dutch nation, the entire guilt and responsibility attaching to the crime and sin of slaveholding, which rests at present only on individuals. Your Committee rejoice to find that the recommendations of the Commission have encountered serious opposition in the Chambers of the States-General, and out of it, and that the Abolitionists of Holland are quite alive to the importance of endeavouring to prevent so mischievous a scheme from being carried out. Were it adopted, it must infallibly tend to perpetuate the system of Slavery in Surinam, whilst it would also prove a most pernicious example to other slaveholding countries.

It appears that the recommendations of the Commission have been based chiefly on the results of emancipation in our Colonies—especially in British Guiana—as given in the despatches of Governor Sir Henry Barkly to Earl Grey, and which are represented as most disastrous. It is not here the place to combat the statements that have been quoted in support of this opinion; but your Committee, conceiving that the diffusion of correct information on this point is of the greatest importance, will direct their attention to making such efforts in this direction as shall place the friends of the cause in Holland in a position to meet their opponents, and to remove the discouraging impression which such erroneous and biased statements are calculated to produce.

Your Committee are gratified to be able to inform you that the public mind in Holland

is very much alive to the importance of the question of Abolition, and that a considerable number of works bearing on it has been published within the last two years. Great exertions are being made by the *Amsterdam Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society* to popularize the subject, and too much encouragement cannot be held out to this Association of quite youths, who, adopting the principles of your Society, namely, "Immediate and unconditional Emancipation," have, by the prudence and vigour with which they have conducted their proceedings, succeeded in rallying around them, within the space of little more than two years, some of the most influential writers and most eminent philanthropists their country has produced. Since the visit your Secretary paid to Holland last year, on the invitation of these young men, they have published the address he had the privilege of delivering to one of the largest meetings they ever had, and have given it an extensive circulation. It is gratifying to your Committee to know that much good has resulted from the Secretary's mission in the stimulus it appears to have imparted to the anti-slavery cause in the popular mind.

The meetings he had the privilege of addressing were large and influential, and the greatest interest was manifested in the proceedings. It is announced that a criticism upon his statements is on the eve of appearing in one of the principal periodicals of the country. They also had the effect of causing the friends of Emancipation to request the *Young Men's Society* to get up petitions against the proposed plan of the State Commission, and the dedication to the same Society of a pamphlet written by M. D. Teenstra, of Ulrum, Groningen, giving a brief history of the slave-trade and of Slavery, and advocating the duty as well as the necessity of immediate Emancipation.† This gentleman resided many years in Surinam, and has been for many years an active promoter of the abolition cause, both by his works, the authenticity and value of which are generally recognised, and by his addresses to the States-General. In this pamphlet M. D. Teenstra quotes largely from that portion of the address of your Secretary which bears particularly upon the religious and moral aspects of the anti-slavery question.

In the Second Chamber of the States-General the friends of the Slave have been more than usually active. M. Groen Van Prinsterer, the Baron W. R. Van Hoëvelle, M. Elout de Soeterwoude, M. Blaupot ten Cate, M. M. Van Lynden, Mackay, Van Deirse, Van Boon, Thorbecke, Rochussen, &c., have steadfastly resisted the attempts of the Government Commission—composed as it is,

* There are about 39,400, including 1260 government Slaves, who are, of course, excluded from this calculation.—(L. A. C.)

† *Vluchtige Beschouwing van de Hedendaagsche Slaverij in Nederland*, door M. D. Teenstra. Amsterdam, C. L. Bruickman, 1856.

chiefly of individuals more favourable to the planting interests than to those of the Slave—to defer the solution of a question which becomes every day more serious, owing to the uneasiness of the slave population in Surinam, under the constantly deferred promise of speedy emancipation.

The *Dutch Anti-Slavery Society* of the Hague is also rendering good service to the cause, in its way, by the publication of the *Dutch Anti-Slavery Reporter*, through which much useful information is diffused.

There have also been established in Amsterdam since your Secretary's visit, two *Ladies' Anti-Slavery Societies*, whose instrumentality will doubtless prove extremely useful as soon as they have had time to organize a systematic plan of action. On the whole, therefore, your Committee have every reason to express their thankfulness at the progress which it is evident to them the cause has made in Holland since last year.

PERU.

In the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* for July last, your Committee gave the text of the Decree dated 3d December, 1854, by which General Castilla, the new President of Peru, declared the slaves throughout that country to be at once and unconditionally free. His predecessor, General Echineque, had, with a view to procure the support of the slave-population, also declared Emancipation, but it was coupled with the condition of serving two years in the army. Having been defeated by Castillas, the latter carried out the project, but more radically, declaring that the Government would undertake to indemnify the owners within five years, with interest at the rate of 5 per cent. At the same time he announced that it would also provide for such slaves as are too old and infirm to gain a livelihood.

In 1852, New Grenada set the example of Emancipation; in 1854, Venezuela followed in the same course; and now Peru does the same. It will thus be seen that the younger Republics of the American Continent are far in advance of the freedom-boasting Confederation of the United States. May their example not be lost upon it!

PORTUGAL.

In addition to the measures which your Committee referred to in their last Report, as having been projected by the Portuguese Government with a view to the gradual abolition of Slavery in the dominions of the Crown of Portugal—measures which, though falling short of what might be desired, were nevertheless indicative of progress—they have to announce the presentation of a Bill by the Minister of Marine and of the Colonies, for the extinction of Slavery in the territories of the Province of Angola. The

territory of Ambriz was recently organized as a district of that province, principally with a view to put an end to the slave-trade there, and in the adjoining territories of Cabinda and Molembo, which, notwithstanding the measures adopted to prevent it, continued to be prosecuted to a considerable extent. The Bill lately presented to the Portuguese Cortes contains three articles. The first abolishes Slavery in the district of Ambriz, from the river Lifune to the river Zaire, and in the territories of Cabinda and Molembo, all in the province of Angola. The second provides that the law shall take effect in the territory of Ambriz six months after its publication in the official bulletin of Angola, and in the other territories six months after the re-establishment in each of them of administrative and military authorities by the Government. Finally, the third article repeals all laws and regulations contrary to the spirit of this law. The Bill bears date the 7th of April in the current year.

Your Committee rejoice in the prospect these measures afford of the speedy extinction of Slavery in the Portuguese possessions on the West Coast of Africa, and trust that the youthful Sovereign of Portugal may be induced to extend the boon to the remaining colonies of his Crown in the East.

In relation to the Decree of the 23d December 1854, adverted to, in outline, in your Committee's last Report, a subsequent examination has only confirmed the opinion they then expressed, that the benevolent provisions of the chief clauses of the Decree would be frustrated by the very character of the conditions with which they were surrounded. Whilst the enactments themselves cannot be denied to have a beneficent tendency, they rather embrace a public recognition and formal declaration of rights, than present an immediate and efficient remedy for existing evils; although such a recognition and declaration must be held as important points gained. The chief objection to the whole measure is in its omissions and defects, which impair very materially its entire tendency. The right of all slaves residing in territory belonging to the Portuguese Crown to redeem themselves on their compensating their masters, is an important concession, but it is modified by a subsequent article, which consigns all such self-emancipated slaves to the class of liberated negroes (*libertos*). But in this category they must remain, for there is no provision made for their attaining ultimate freedom. Now by another clause, the *libertos* are placed under the permanent guardianship of a Board, so that they can never attain complete freedom. Thus, although the entire number of Slaves should acquire their liberty, they virtually remain under the control of the State, which disposes of their services, regulates the amount of their wages, and, in fact, acts in all respects

towards them as though they were children. Nevertheless, the establishment of a Board of Protection is an important step in advance, as being the first institution publicly recognised and acknowledged in the Portuguese Colonies, which holds forth to the slave population the right of appeal in general. But, not to extend this report to too great a length, your Committee cannot perhaps do better than transcribe, in this place, the admirable comments on this decree, made by Mr. Consul Brand, on its being submitted to him for his opinion. He says :

"One prominent feature of the measure is this, that nothing whatever is done for the immediate and complete emancipation of any portion of the slave population. Not a single slave becomes a free man by the present operation of the Decree. Certain classes of negroes attain the middle state of *libertos*, but beyond this state not one of them can at present advance. Children under five years of age, redeemed at baptism, are, indeed, declared to be fully free, and they would therefore seem to form an exception, as regards any who may be so redeemed immediately on the publication of the Decree; but even in their case they are free only in name, as they continue in the condition of *libertos* until they attain the legal age of majority.

"A second feature deserves notice, and it is this, that no provision is made for the complete emancipation of slaves in future, except by passing through the middle state of *libertos*. Slaves the property of the State appear, by Article XXX., to be in the condition of *libertos* during their seven years of servitude. Slaves not registered within the thirty days prescribed by Article I., or imported by land after publication of the Decree, children redeemed at baptism; illegitimate children of slaveowners (Article XXXIX.); and those slaves who may purchase their freedom, all pass into this middle state. There is no direct transition, either present or future, from a state of Slavery to one of complete freedom, for Article XXIX. clearly states that every slave who may have in any way obtained his liberty passes immediately into the condition of a *liberto*, &c.

"I mention further, that among the provisions of the Decree but little of a practical tendency is to be found as to the mode of transition from the condition of a *liberto* to that of a free man. The condition of *liberto* seems to be the measure and limit of the negro's freedom. Slaves the property of the State, and slaves imported by land after publication of the Decree, are not declared to be free men after the expiry of their respective periods of service: they are *libertos* during this period, and they appear to be in the same social status after its completion, for they are not included in any of the twelve classes of free men mentioned in Article XXX. I will subsequently have to notice that the attainments and qualifications requisite for being comprehended in almost any one of these classes are practically beyond the reach of the majority of negroes in the condition of *libertos*. Again, as regards the Board of Protection, whilst its functions, with respect to the redemption of slaves, are set forth, and the form of process is pretty fully detailed in Chapter

III., I do not find any enactment relative to the duties of the Board in aiding the *liberto* in his passage from that state to the condition of a free man.

"These three features appear to me defects; and their tendency, I fear, is to retard the progress of the negro in advancing to the enjoyment of complete freedom."*

Your Committee, whilst most anxious to give credit to the Portuguese Government for its beneficent intentions, regret that, in the discharge of their duty, they should be compelled to record the identity of their opinion with that of Mr. Consul Brand, as expressed in the last passage from his remarkable and highly valuable despatch.

SPAIN.

Your Committee have little of moment to record in relation to this unhappy country, which remains distracted by intestine political divisions. In their last Report they referred to the efforts which the friends of the slave were making at Madrid to promote the cause of Abolition, and notably to those of Señor Orense, and six other Members of the Cortes,† who had proposed, as an amendment to the 27th basis of the last new Constitution, that Slavery should be gradually extinguished in the ultramarine possessions of Spain, having due regard always to private interests to avoid the inconveniences which, as it was alleged, might result from such a measure. On the 30th of June last, Señor Orense brought forward his motion, and an interesting debate ensued thereupon. It was, however, negatived by the declaration of the Minister-at-War, General O'Donnell, to the effect that no discussion on the subject could be raised because the Cortes had already determined that there should be no innovation whatever on the system of property as it exists at present in Cuba.

Your Committee also referred, in a previous Report, to the attempt which had been made by Lord Howden, British Ambassador at Madrid, to induce the Spanish Government to constitute slave-trade piracy, and of the refusal of that Government to accede to his request, preferred in the name of his Sovereign. Your Committee took an early opportunity of exposing, in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, the fallacy of the arguments, and the incorrectness of the facts on which the Spanish Cabinet based its refusal. The Earl of Clarendon, however, did not yield the point, and the request was, at his instigation, again urged, by Lord Howden, in terms as dig-

* Slave-trade Papers, Class B. 1854, page 379, *et seq*

† Their names were Eduardo Riuz Pons, M. Ferrery Garcés, Eugenio Garcia Riuz, E. Figueas, Juan Manuel Pereira, and José L. Llorens.

nified as they were forcible. The result was, a promise, on the part of the Spanish Minister, to re-consider the grounds of refusal, and an intimation that the Government did not reject the request, but only deferred its decision until it had collected the necessary data, in order to ascertain whether it will be possible for it to make the declaration in question, "without putting in jeopardy," to employ the phraseology of the despatch, "the sacred interests which are entrusted to its loyalty." In the mean time the reply of the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs, conveying his reasons for refusing to accede to Lord Howden's request, had been sent to Mr. Crawford, Consul at Havana, whose answer was quite confirmatory of the views taken by your Committee as to the absence of any danger to be apprehended from the carrying out of the measure which had been suggested. Some portions of Mr. Crawford's despatch are worthy of record in this place, as shewing the inadequacy of the means hitherto employed for suppressing the slave-trade and the impunity with which it is connived at by the local authorities. He says :*

"We have had so long experience of the inadequacy of the Government of Cuba to put it (the slave-trade) down, that, admitting the best and most honest intentions on the part of the Captain-General to do so, his measures are constantly evaded by those under his orders, whose honour is not proof against the temptations of the slave-traders, so that we have never yet heard of a cargo of Bozal negroes arriving on the coast of Cuba which has not been landed, and we have never known of an officer that was in a responsible situation in the districts where the disembarkations have been effected, however notorious his connivance may have been, that has been disgraced or punished: on the contrary, they have all of them been declared innocent, because of the difficulty of obtaining proofs conclusive of their infamy, and they have, one after the other, been restored to their rank and employment. . . . Offences of such a nature are disagreeable for the Captains-General to deal with, therefore they are but too happy to transfer them to the Supreme Court, where, by the means to which I have alluded, (the getting of the witnesses out of the way,) the evidence that would convict is, somehow or other, excluded, withdrawn, or quashed; but, at any rate, we never hear of convictions or punishments of the accused, and so the slave-trade goes on and prospers.

"The Spanish Government, if they really intend that the treaties with Great Britain shall be faithfully observed, and are desirous to extirpate the slave-trade, need be under no apprehension in adopting the most stringent measures for that purpose: they have force enough at their command to suppress any semblance of dissatisfaction were they to declare slave-trading to be piracy, and deal with it as such in all its branches and ramifications. The measure, your Lordship may rest assured, will neither endanger their colony nor alter its tranquillity. I consider the

allegation of such motive for not acceding to the request of Her Majesty's Government as a mere pretext to put off the extinction of a barbarous and, everywhere else, detested traffic, which they know will otherwise continue to be carried on; and therefore I most respectfully submit to your Lordship's better judgment, that the sooner they are pressed to put an end to it the better."

In the strong opinion conveyed in the last paragraph of Mr. Crawford's despatch your Committee entirely concur. It must be obvious to the most superficial observer that the Spanish Government cannot require any information as to the probable consequences of the proposed measure, were it enacted: and although it may be good policy to affect to yield to the considerations urged by it upon our own, the transparency of the pretext is so glaring, that it would be an insult to the understanding of Lord Howden and of the Earl of Clarendon to imagine for a moment that they have been the dupes of it. Your Committee await with some anxiety the publication of the Slave-trade Papers for the past year, in the hope that the negotiation is progressing.

In their Report for 1854 your Committee referred to a Decree which had been issued by the Spanish Government for the registration of all the slaves in the island of Cuba, so that any negro, excepting those subsequently born, who should be thereafter unregistered, and who did not carry about him a copy of the register, was to be considered as unduly introduced, and declared *ipso facto* free; secondly, for the levying of a high tax on all slaves retained for domestic purposes, with a view to force the entire slave population of the island into works of agriculture; and thirdly, embracing a scheme for the introduction of Spanish, Yucatanese, and Chinese immigrants. Your Committee expressed at that time the opinion that this measure would not accomplish its object, and the results have justified that opinion. The scheme of immigration has degenerated into a covert slave-trade, and has disappointed the expectations of its promoters. The clause relating to registration has been so modified by General Concha as to render it nugatory; and the one imposing a tax on domestic slaves has not, your Committee believe, yet been put into execution, on account of its injustice and of its otherwise objectionable features. Had that part of the Decree been enforced which renders the registration of slaves compulsory, it would have been a great step in advance; but it is too true that means are always found to evade enactments of a progressive kind only, demonstrating the utter futility of measures that do not strike at the very root of the evil. Such results, too, might have been anticipated, for the parties interested in the continuance of the slave-trade, and especially of Slavery, would be encouraged to employ every means to evade a compliance with measures of which they

* Slave-trade Papers, 1854, Class B, page 562.

may well doubt the sincerity, when the Colonial Minister announces to the Cortes that the Government of Queen Donna Maria "entertains the intimate conviction that Slavery is a necessity and an indispensable condition for the existence of landed property in the island of Cuba; and it only anticipates the feelings of the gentlemen deputies by giving to the natives and landed proprietors of the island in question the assurance that no one has the intention of attacking that principle."*

HOME PROCEEDINGS.

In looking back to the events of the past year in connection with the anti-slavery cause, your Committee see every reason to congratulate the friends of Negro Emancipation on the progress that has been made towards the object they are striving to attain. Without ascribing to the efforts of your Society the changes that are rapidly taking place in public sentiment on the subject of Emancipation in the countries where Slavery is unhappily still an institution, your Committee may confidently assert that those efforts have not been barren of results; for it is daily being made manifest to them that the very existence of a Society like your's, which is constantly urging the application of its principles upon its own and other Governments, is a material element in the advancement of the cause. Foreign Governments are stimulated to inaugurate progressive measures—in an anti-slavery sense—through the agencies your Committee employ, directly and indirectly, to keep the question in agitation; whilst our own is ever ready to receive suggestions calculated to give effect to the great principles on which your Society is founded. The extensive correspondence it maintains with Abolitionists in foreign countries, is of great practical value in encouraging them to keep their organizations up to the standard which experience has taught your Committee is the only safe, as it is the only just one, namely, immediate and unconditional Emancipation. In like manner, that branch of effort which bears especially upon the condition of the free coloured population in our colonies and elsewhere is of daily growing importance, and is one which receives a corresponding degree of attention at their hands.

Your Committee have already presented, under appropriate and distinct heads, such facts as they have been able to collate, shewing what progress has been made during the past year in the various countries where Slavery still exists. It only remains for them to submit an outline of their home proceedings.

* Slave-trade Papers, 1854-55, Class B., page 463. Extract from Señor Luzuriaga's speech to the Cortes, March 8, 1855.

Apart from the active general correspondence they have carried on with Abolitionists in Holland, France, Spain, Portugal, Brazil, Cuba, Africa—North, South, and West—America and Germany, and with the friends of the cause in the British West Indies, Haiti and the French colonies, their attention has been directed to various questions naturally arising out of the one great subject under review. Last year they made reference to the Address on Slavery and the slave-trade in Cuba, which they had then recently forwarded to Marshal Espartero, and to influential persons at Madrid, besides giving it an extensive circulation in this and in other countries. They have since had that Address carefully translated into Spanish, and a copy of the same has been sent to Marshal Espartero, who, in acknowledging its receipt, informs your Committee that he had referred it to the Department for Foreign Affairs, with a request that it might receive the attention which the importance of the subject it treated of demands. Copies have also been sent to the various British Consuls in Spain and in other countries; to the principal Spanish firms in London, New York, Cuba, and elsewhere; to the Spanish and the Portuguese Ministers; to our own Foreign Secretary; and to every member of the Spanish Cortes. Your Committee have every reason to believe that this Address has produced a considerable effect.

HOLLAND.—The mission of your Secretary to Holland has already been referred to, and your Committee are greatly encouraged by the results it has been instrumental in producing. It has enabled them to open a direct communication with the Boers of the Trans-Vaal Republic in South Africa, through their Consul at Utrecht, to whom they have forwarded an Address to Andries Pretorius and his colleagues in the Government of that Republic, on the subject of the enslavement of the natives in their vicinity; a subject which had been under the notice of your Committee since 1853, but which it had been out of their power to treat effectively on account of the extreme difficulty of communicating with the President of the Trans-Vaal Republic and his colleagues.

In July last your Committee petitioned the House of Lords, through Lord Brougham, remonstrating against the appointment of Sir John Young as Lord High-Commissioner of the Ionian Islands, he being the owner of plantations and slaves in Dutch Guiana, and having his agent at Amsterdam. They regret that Government—probably embarrassed by the circumstances of the case—have not, that your Committee are aware of, in any manner testified their disapprobation of a British subject's being the owner of slaves in a foreign country.

A similar case having occurred in Pará, Brazil, where Mr. Vines, the British Consul,

had purchased three slaves, your Committee made a representation on the subject to the Earl of Clarendon, who, upon the evidence forwarded to him, directed Mr. Vines at once to set the slaves at liberty, at the same time highly disapproving of his conduct.

Your Committee, strengthened by his Lordship's assertion, that the law of England absolutely prohibits British subjects from owning or holding slaves under any circumstances, think the case of Sir John Young was one which as much merits censure as did that of Mr. Vines.

The subject of Slavery and the slave-trade in Turkey appeared to your Committee to be one deserving of especial attention at a time when the alliance between the Ottoman Porte and this country was of so intimate a nature. Your Committee, therefore, believing that the Conferences assembled at Paris for the settlement of the terms of peace, presented a favourable opportunity for bringing the subject under the notice of the Plenipotentiaries, addressed a Memorial to Viscount Palmerston, entreating Her Majesty's Government to stipulate, in any treaty then about to be entered into with Turkey, not only for the adoption of measures of the most stringent kind for the suppression of the traffic in slaves, from whencesoever they may be imported into the Turkish dominions, but also for the immediate suppression of Slavery throughout them. Copies of this Memorial were transmitted to the Earl of Clarendon, at that time in Paris, and to Lord Cowley, the British Ambassador; and on further consideration the Committee deemed it expedient to address a copy to His Majesty the Emperor of the French, to each of the Ministers Plenipotentiary, to the Turkish Ambassador in London, and to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe at Constantinople. Your Committee are not without hope that, in due course of time, this step may produce a favourable result, for they have evidence that Her Majesty's Government, and the British Minister at Constantinople, are quite alive to the importance of the subject, and that they had already made some very strong representations to the Porte, on the continuance of a traffic universally execrated, and of a system which condemns Christian women and female children to a most debasing and immoral bondage.

Your Committee have been able to lay before the readers of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* some highly-interesting information relating to the Empire of Haiti, in the welfare of which they take a deep interest, believing that the example of a prosperous, well-governed black empire or black republic is likely to accomplish a great deal towards removing the absurd prejudices that exist against the negro, and his capacity for self-government. In the present instance the diffusion of accurate information is highly

important, because there seems to be a disinclination to believe that the Haitians can govern themselves as well as the French, or as any other people; and there is also a readiness—much stimulated by certain journals at home and abroad—to ridicule the Emperor Faustin I. and his sable court, because, being a negro, he has assumed the purple, in imitation, perhaps, of a potentate nearer to our own shores, who, in his day, came in for no small share of abuse for following a yet more illustrious precedent.

In referring you to the article in question for a detail of facts, your Committee may be permitted to express the opinion, that, looking at the peculiar circumstances in which Haiti has been placed, and the extraordinary difficulties she has had to contend with in her struggles to attain to an independent position, she presents a notable example of prosperity, and is, in some respects, in advance of countries which have enjoyed far greater advantages.

With relation to our own colonial possessions, peopled by the natives of Africa and their descendants, your Committee are continually acquiring fresh proofs of the evil results of absentee-proprietorship and vicious legislation. It may indeed suit the purpose of a certain class to decry the measure of Emancipation, and to attribute to it the depressed condition of the planting interest in some of the colonies; but, traced to their origin, it can be demonstrated that they are attributable to causes altogether foreign to that great act of national justice. On the other hand, they challenge contradiction when they reiterate the assertion that the enfranchised classes have—making due allowances for their past condition, and the deplorable demoralization consequent thereto—proved, and are daily proving to the world, that the immediate emancipation of their brethren might take place, not only without disastrous consequences, but advantageously for those whose interests appear to be at present bound up in the system of Slavery.

In relation to the agencies which your Committee are of opinion are amongst the most effectual for the promotion of the anti-slavery cause, they cannot dwell too strongly on the necessity of withholding all support from those organizations in the United States, and their auxiliaries, wherever they may be established, and under what name soever, which countenance, directly or indirectly, the fearful institution of Slavery. It is only by bringing the public opinion of the religious classes in this country to bear upon the advocates of the system, or upon those who, if they do not positively uphold it, abstain from condemning it, or from taking any part against it, that British Abolitionists may hope to induce a healthier sentiment in the organizations alluded to. The religious and

moral aspects of the question must ever occupy the first place, and it should always be borne in mind that the "American Churches are the bulwarks of Slavery;" hence no direct action can be more efficacious than that which tends to shut out from British sympathy the parties who stand committed to the detestable institution, however remotely, especially if they appertain to those religious denominations in America, which, not being for the cause of Abolition, are against it.

Whilst enjoining on all friends of the cause to preserve intact their anti-slavery principles, and on no account to suffer them to be compromised, your Committee would issue it as a recommendation, that they should also, in all cases where it is practicable, and for the sake of bearing a consistent testimony against the system of Slavery, give a decided preference to commodities the produce of free-labour. They are rejoiced to find, that in the United States this mode of action is gaining favour, and is advocated by many distinguished friends of the slave, as a moral agency of great weight. A stimulus has been given by the free-labour movement to the production of cotton untainted by slave-labour; and were all Abolitionists united on this point, there is little doubt but the effect on the demand for slave-labour products would be very material, whilst, morally speaking, its results to the cause would be incalculable. They are, however,

encouraged to believe that the number is considerably increasing of those who are favourable to the free labour movement.

Your Committee, in presenting their Financial Account, are gratified to be able to shew a small balance in the Treasurer's hands. This result is due to the munificence of the response made to the special appeal issued at the close of 1854. The Society had discharged the whole of its liabilities at the close of the year, and, as a considerable reduction in the annual expenditure has now been effected, the Committee hope to be able to present a similar result at the close of the present year.

CONCLUSION.

Looking back to the arduous struggle in which your Society has been engaged, and upon the progress which the cause has made, especially of later years, your Committee feel that they cannot too gratefully acknowledge the blessing with which it has pleased God to crown their endeavours. Strong in the righteousness of their cause, they would prayerfully appeal to Him, who perfecteth praise out of the mouths of babes and sucklings, to continue His favour, and to inspire all their fellow-labourers with faith in His promise of help to those who put their trust in Him.

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE, 1855.

Cr.		Dr.	
To Donations	£987 13 7	By Balance, 1st January	£103 13 9
Subscriptions	193 0 10	Salaries	408 5 5
<i>Anti-Slavery Reporter</i>	49 19 1	Printing & Publishing <i>Reporter</i> ,	265 11 7*
Rent	138 10 0	General Printing	176 3 10*
Ladies' Society in Aid of Fugitives	29 17 0	Newspapers, Stationery, Books, Binding 2 years' <i>Reporter</i> , Parliamentary Papers, Translations, and Copying,	48 7 7*
		Postages	50 16 11
		Rent	95 17 6
		Taxes, Gas, &c.	90 5 10*
		Repairs	17 4 6*
		Housekeeper, Coals, &c.	24 3 9
		Public Meeting, Advertisements, &c.	34 14 9
		Travelling Expenses	46 1 4
		Porterages, Parcels, Fugitives, and miscellaneous expenses	18 2 0
			1319 8 9
		Balance in hand	19 11 9
	£1399 0 6		£1399 0 6

* These sums embrace some heavy arrears due from 1853.

OFFICERS AND CORRESPONDING MEMBERS, 1856.

Treasurer.

GEORGE WILLIAM ALEXANDER, Lombard Street.

Committee.

ROBERT ALSOP
THOMAS BINNS
REV. JAMES CARLILE
JOSEPH COOPER
SAMUEL HORMAN-FISHER
JOSIAH FORSTER

ROBERT FORSTER
R. N. FOWLER
CHARLES GILPIN
F. W. HARRIS
HENRY STERRY
SAMUEL STURGE.

Secretary.

L. A. CHAMEROVZOW.

Corresponding Members.

PROFESSOR ACKERSDYKE, Utrecht
G. W. ANSTIE, Devizes
JOHN BEAUMONT, Ufford, near Woodbridge
REV. WILLIAM BEVAN, Wolverhampton
HON. J. G. BIRNEY, Michigan, U.S.
SAMUEL BOWLY, Gloucester
JOHN CANDLER, Chelmsford
FRANCIS R. COCKING, Venezuela
L. F. & A. COURTOIS, Toulouse
JOHN CROPPER, Liverpool
PROFESSOR DAVID, Copenhagen
JOSEPH EATON, Bristol
PROFESSOR G. DE FELICE, Montauban
W. F. GEFKEN, the Hague
THOMAS HARVEY, Leeds
F. H. HEYDER, Frankfort-on-the-Maine
G. HERKLOTS, Rotterdam
M. ISAMBERT, Paris

HON. WILLIAM JAY, Chester, U.S.
REV. JOSHUA LEAVITT, Boston, U.S.
R. R. MADDEN, M.D., Dublin
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RICHARD PEEK, Hazlewood, near Kingsbridge
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M. GROEN VAN PRINSTERER, the Hague
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HYP. DE ST. ANTHOINE, Paris
H. R. ROMMEL, Frankfort
REV. THOMAS SCALES, Leeds
PROFESSOR STOWE Andover, U.S.
JOSEPH STURGE, Birmingham
LEWIS TAPPAN, New York, U.S.
J. G. WHITTIER, Amesbury, Massachusetts, U.S.
PROFESSOR WORMS, Hamburg.

OBJECTS AND PRINCIPLES OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

OBJECTS.—The universal extinction of Slavery and the slave-trade, and the protection of the rights and interests of the enfranchised population in the British possessions, and of all persons captured as slaves.

PRINCIPLES.—That so long as Slavery exists, there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the slave-trade, and of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings; that the extinction of Slavery and the slave-trade will be attained most effectually by the employment of those means which are of a *moral, religious, and pacific character*; and that no measures be resorted to by this Society, in the prosecution of these objects, but such as are in entire accordance with these principles.

MEANS.—1. To circulate, both at home and abroad, accurate information of the enormities of the slave-trade and slavery; to furnish evidence to the inhabitants of slave-holding countries, not only of the practicability, but of the pecuniary advantage of free-labour; to diffuse authentic intelligence respecting the results of emancipation in Hayti, the British colonies, and elsewhere; to open a correspondence with abolitionists in America, France, and other countries; and to encourage them in the prosecution of their objects by all methods consistent with the principles of this Society.

2. To recommend the use of free-grown produce (as far as practicable) in preference to slave-grown; and to promote the adoption of fiscal regulations in favour of free-labour.

3. To obtain the unequivocal recognition of the principle, that the slave, of whatever clime or colour, entering any portion of the British dominions, shall be free, the same as upon the shores of the United Kingdom; and to carry this principle into full and complete effect.

4. To recommend that every suitable opportunity be embraced for evincing, in our intercourse with slave-holders and their apologists, our abhorrence of the system which they uphold, and our sense of its utter incompatibility with the spirit of the Christian religion.

MEMBERSHIP.—That every person who subscribes not less than ten shillings annually, or makes a donation of five pounds or upwards, shall be a member of this Society.

CONTRIBUTIONS, 1855.

*** Should any omissions occur in this List, Subscribers and Donors are requested to notify the same to the Secretary. It embraces Subscriptions and Donations from the 1st Jan. to 31st Dec. 1855.

Donations. Ann. Sub.					Donations. Ann. Sub.				
£ s. d. £ s. d.					£ s. d. £ s. d.				
Alexander, G. W. Reigate .	50	0	0		Brought forward .	114	5	9..40	6 0
Alexander, F. Woodbridge .	3	0	0..	0 10 0	Darby, Charles, Brymbo .		1	0	0
Alexander, Mrs. F. Ditto .				0 10 0	Darby, R. Coalbrookdale .		1	1	0
Alexander, J. B. Ipswich .				0 10 0	Darby, Lucy, Ditto . . .		1	1	0
Allen, John, Liskeard . .				1 1 0	Darby, Mary, Ditto . . .		1	1	0
Allen, Richard, Dublin . .				1 0 0	Darby, Rebecca, Ditto . .		1	1	0
Alsop, R. Stoke Newington,				1 1 0	Davies, Samuel, Exeter . .		0	10	0
Amsterdam Young Men's					Dickenson, H. Coalbrook-				
Society	0	15	0		dale	50	0	0..	1 1 0
A Christian Friend, Thame,	0	2	6		Dickenson, Mrs. Woodbridge,				0 10 0
Ash, Dr. Bristol	5	0	0		Dickinson, The Rev. W. W.				
Ashley, G. C. Isleworth . .				1 1 0	Ipswich		1	1	0
Backhouse, Sarah, York . .				1 0 0	Doyle, James, Downham . .		0	10	0
Ball, William, Tottenham .				2 2 0	Dundee Auxiliary Ladies'				
Ball, Mrs. Cheltenham . .				1 1 0	Society		0	10	0
Banbury Auxiliary Ladies'					Dymond, John, Exeter . .		0	10	0
Society	5	0	0		Ebenezer Chapel, Demerara,	8	0	0	
Beaumont, John, Ufford . .				1 0 0	Ellis, John, Leicester . . .		3	0	0
Beaumont, W. Newcastle . .				2 2 0	Elliott, Mary, Liskeard . .		0	10	0
Bell, J., M.P. London . . .				4 0 0	Elliott, J. and S. Ditto . .		0	10	0
Bell, S. Basingstoke . . .				2 0 0	Evesham Auxiliary Ladies'				
Bewley, S. Dublin				2 2 0	Society	2	18	0	
Bienwen, Ald. Southampton,				0 5 0	Executors of Mr. Pryor,				
Binns, Thomas				1 1 0	Chesham	45	0	0	
Binyon, J. B. Holbeach . .				0 10 0	Exeter Auxiliary Ladies'				
Birmingham Ladies' Negro					Society	1	15	0	
Friend Society	20	0	0		Falmouth Auxiliary Ladies'				
Boys, Jacob, Brighton . . .				1 1 0	Society	1	1	0	
Bramwell, Dr. North Shields,				0 5 0	Fawcus, M., North Shields,		0	10	0
Brewin, T. Cirencester . . .	6	0	0		Fell, John, Uzbridge . . .		1	0	0
Brewin, E. Worcester . . .	1	0	0		Fisher, Abraham, Youghal,		0	5	0
Brown, Potto, Houghton . .	4	0	0		Fisher, Peter M. Ditto . .		0	5	0
Brown, W., jun. North Shields,				0 5 0	Fletcher, Caleb, York . . .		0	10	0
Brown, Mrs. Woodbridge . .				0 5 0	Foskett, Mrs.		0	10	0
Burchett, J. R. Camden					Forster, J. Tottenham . . .		3	3	0
Town				1 1 0	Forster, Robert, Ditto . .		1	1	0
Bury St. Edmund's Auxiliary,	4	0	0		Forth, R. North Shields . .		0	5	0
Candler, J. Chelmsford . . .				0 10 6	Friends at Worcester . . .	15	1	0	
Capper, Mrs. Cheltenham . .				1 1 0	Fothergill, Thomas, Clifton,		1	0	0
Carr, Mr. Chief Justice,					Fothergill, Miss, Ditto . .		1	0	0
Sierra Leone				3 3 0	Fowler, R. N. Tottenham . .		2	2	0
Carr, J. D. Carlisle				1 0 0	Geach, Edward, Liskeard . .		0	5	0
Cash, S. Peckham				2 0 0	Glyde, Mrs. Exeter		1	0	0
Catchpool, T. Colchester . .	10	0	0		Graham, T. Coalbrookdale .		1	1	0
Charleton, Elizabeth, Bristol,				1 1 0	Gregg, Mrs. London		0	5	0
Chelmsford Auxiliary La-					Gripper, E. Laver Breton . .	5	0	0	
dies' Society	2	0	0		Gundry, Sarah, Calne . . .		1	0	0
Clarkson, Mrs. Woodbridge,				1 0 0	Gurney, Miss, Cromer . . .	1	0	0..	1 1 0
Clutterbuck, Miss, Chelten-					Harris, Frederick, London,		2	2	0
ham				0 10 0	Harvey, Thomas, Youghal,		0	5	0
Clark, J. Ditto				0 10 6	Heisch, Mrs. Kennington . .		1	0	0
Coning, Ann, Guisborough,				1 0 0	Helston Auxiliary Society .	1	5	0	
Crabb, J. R.				0 5 0	Hunt, Henry, Bristol . . .		1	0	0
Crosby Hall, Collection at,	3	8	3		Hutcheson, Robert, Exeter,				
Crouch, E. A. Liskeard . . .				0 5 0	(Collected in Box) . . .	1	5	0	
Cruickshank, E. Edinburgh,				0 5 0	Isaac, J. C. Liskeard . . .		0	5	0
Cumming, Mrs. Cheltenham,				1 1 0	Jack, Archibald		0	2	6
Cumming, Miss M. A. Ditto,				1 1 0	Jackson, Clement, Looe . .		0	5	0
Carried forward	£ 114	5	9..40	6 0	Carried forward	£ 246	10	9..75	4 6

Donations Ann.Sub.						Donations Ann.Sub.					
£ s. d. £ s. d.						£ s. d. £ s. d.					
Brought forward .						246	10	9..75	4	6	
Jackson, S. P. Bristol .				1	0	0	Saffron Walden Auxiliary				
Janson, W. Tottenham .	5	0	0				Society				
Jessup, James, Halstead .				0	10	0			11	11	0
Kenway, G. B. Wednesbury,				1	0	0	Scarr, Hannah, York .		0	5	0
Knott, Thomas, Exeter .				0	5	0	Shewell, Mrs. Woodbridge .		0	10	0
Laishley, G. Southampton .				0	10	6	Shewell, John, Rushmere .		1	0	0
Letchworth, T. Exeter .				0	10	0	Silver, T. T. Woodbridge .		0	5	0
Liskeard Auxiliary Ladies'							Silver, Miss, Ditto . . .		0	5	0
Society	4	0	0				Smith's Church, Demerara,	1	17	8	
Littleboy, Mrs. Bourne End,				0	10	0	Spence, J. North Shields .		0	5	0
Littleboy, Richard, Ditto .				0	10	0	Spence, J. F. Ditto . . .		0	5	0
Lloyd, Samuel, Wednesbury,				1	0	0	Spence, J. York		1	1	0
Lury, J. E. Southampton .				1	0	0	Sparkes, Rachael, Exeter .		1	1	0
Marett, Charles, Ditto . .				0	5	0	Southall, Ann, Leominster .	1	0	0	
Martindale, S. Liverpool .				0	6	0	Squire, J. H. Ware . . .		1	1	0
Massey, C. Spalding . . .				0	10	0	Stark, Thomas, Mevagissey,		0	5	0
Maw, Mrs. Woodbridge . .				0	5	0	Stephenson, Anne, Ipswich .		2	0	0
May, E. C. Tottenham . .	2	2	0				Sterry, Henry, London . .		3	3	0
Mease, S. North Shields .				0	5	0	Sterry, Joseph, Ditto . .		2	2	0
Moore, E. M. Liskeard . .				0	2	6	Sterry, Joseph, jun. Ditto .		1	1	0
Moore, The Rev. E. Wood-							Sterry, William, Ditto . .		1	0	0
bridge				0	10	6	Stoke Newington Auxiliary				
Morgan, J. Hereford . . .				0	10	0	Ladies' Society		5	0	0
Morland, John, London . .	5	0	0				Sturge, C. Birmingham .	25	0	0	
Mount Nebo Church, Ja-							Stuart, Capt. C. Toronto .		1	0	0
maica	1	0	0				Syms, W. D. Ipswich . .		1	1	0
Newman, W. H. Southampton,				0	5	0	Taylor, Rev. H. Woodbridge,		0	10	0
Norris, W. G. Coalbrookdale,				0	5	0	Thompson, S. Fordingbridge,		1	0	0
Norton, W. Woodbridge . .	2	0	0..	0	10	0	Toll, Mrs. Maria, Ditto . .		0	5	0
Norton, Mrs. Ditto				0	5	0	Tuckett, Frederick, London,	1	0	0	
Ogilvie, J. North Shields .				0	2	6	Tuke, Samuel, York . . .		1	1	0
Palk, Ald. Southampton . .				0	10	6	Veale, J. E. St. Austle . .		0	10	0
Parker, T. G. Preston . . .				1	0	0	Veale, Richard, Ditto . .		0	10	0
Peek, R. Kingsbridge . . .				1	1	0	Veale, James, Ditto . . .		0	5	0
Peile, G. Whitehaven . . .				1	1	0	Webster, Rev. F. Woodbridge,		0	10	0
Proctor, J. North Shields .				1	1	0	Wedgwood, Mrs. Farnborough, 40	9	0		
Proctor, J. R. Ditto . . .				0	10	0	Wheeler, B. Maidstone . .		1	0	0
Pow, Robert, Ditto				1	1	0	Wilkey, J. F. Exeter . . .		0	10	0
Proud, Eliza, Lewes . . .				0	10	0	Williams, Caleb, York . .		1	1	0
Pryor, Elizabeth, Chesham,				1	1	0	Woodbridge, Small Sums .	0	6	6	
Randall, E. M. Southampton,				0	5	0	Yeadon, Mrs., per Record				
Ransome, Robert, Ipswich .				1	1	0	Office		1	1	0
Richardson, M. North Shields,				0	4	0	Yerbury, Miss, Cheltenham,		0	16	8
Richardson, Henry, Ditto .				0	5	0	York Auxiliary Ladies' So-				
Robinson, H. C. London . .	4	0	0				cietv	5	0	0	
Rosling, S. Hemel Hempstead,				0	10	0	Young, M. North Shields .		0	10	0
Ross, Ann, Coalbrookdale .				0	10	6	Zachary, T. Stourport . .		1	1	0
Ross, John, Chatteris . . .	2	0	0				Zachary, Daniel, Ditto . .		1	1	0
Rowntree, Joseph, York . .				1	1	0	Various, paid in at Banker's,				
Rowntree, W. Scarborough .	2	0	0				including balance from				
Rundell, Sarah, Liskeard .				1	1	0	Special Fund in 1854 .	639	7	8..	48 3 2
Russell, Henry, Dublin . .				0	10	6					
Carried forward .	£273	12	9..99	5	0				£987	13	7..193 0 10